Between Secularity, Shrines, and Protestantism : Catholic Higher Education in Prewar Japan

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Prewar government policy concerning the relationship between religion and education presented Christian-affiliated schools with two intersecting but different challenges. On the one hand, the state adopted a stance that in several regards resembles what Ahmet T. Kuru terms "assertive secularism." As reflected in Ministry of Education Instruction 12 (1899), the government declared that state-accredited schools, private as well as public, should not offer religious instruction or conduct religious ceremonies. On the other hand, from the 1910s on, the government increasingly promoted the offering of reverence by schoolchildren and students at shrines and comparable demonstrations of reverence to the emperor and nation on school grounds. In the face of objections from Christian and other groups, the government held that such activities were not "religious," but, taking what Kuru would call a position of "passive secularism," many Christian school leaders resisted participating in activities of this sort.

The history of Sophia University (Jōchi Daigaku) illustrates one way these issues played out in the prewar period. Founded by the Society of Jesus in 1913, Jōchi was of later origin than its Protestant peers, and from the start its leaders chose to adapt to the state's assertively secularist educational policy. Regarding shrine reverence and state ceremonial, the Jesuits were initially far less accommodating. In the wake of the Yasukuni Shrine incident of 1932, however, Jōchi's leaders moved away from passive secularist resistance to the government's promotion of such activities and came to affirm them as "civil" expressions of patriotism and thus compatible with Catholic belief and practice.

Keywords: Jōchi Daigaku (Sophia University), Society of Jesus, Instruction 12 (1899), Private School Ordinance (1899), Specialized School Ordinance (1903), University Ordinance (1918), Rescript on Education, Yasukuni incident (1932), imperial portraits, National Spirit Mobilization Campaign

Tension over the boundaries between education and religion has marked many modern societies. Prominent examples in the period from the late nineteenth century up to World War II were France and Turkey, both of which adopted secularism (*laïcité*) as a defining

state principle and implemented it in educational policy. In the case of France, the Third Republic issued a series of laws culminating in the Law on the Separation of the Churches and the State of 1905, which prohibited the employment of members of religious orders as school teachers, including in schools operated by such orders, and called for the closure of these schools within ten years.[1] Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, between the 1920s and 1940s, Turkey largely abolished Islamic instruction in public schools and increasingly restricted the operation of traditional Islamic schools.[2]

Ahmet T. Kuru has characterized the French and Turkish patterns as instances of the dominance of "assertive secularism," wherein the state actively seeks to exclude religion from the public sphere. He contrasts this to "passive secularism," which tolerates varying degrees of public visibility of religion. If passive secularism, associated typically with the United States, holds the state responsible for securing the free exercise of religion as well as for refraining from establishing a particular doctrinal variety, assertive secularism focuses on confining religion to the realm of private belief and practice and on preventing the intrusion of what belongs to that realm into what is properly public.[3]

It might be possible to include prewar Japan as another example of a state that pursued a policy of assertive secularism in the educational arena. From the 1890s, government officials worked persistently to keep "religion" in the form of doctrinal instruction, prayer, and related activities out of state-accredited schools. Admittedly, to conjoin the Japanese case with French and Turkish *laïcité* without qualification would be rash, for it diverged in several regards. For one thing, in Japan the main target of educational *laïcité* was not a deeply embedded indigenous religious tradition, but a foreign import, Christianity, with only a limited following. Related to this circumstance, controversy over the enforcement of a secular educational policy had little impact on public schools, over which, unlike in France and Turkey (or the United States), religious proponents hardly sought any say. It centered, rather, on private schools that aimed to receive state accreditation while simultaneously preserving a religious dimension.

Another notable feature of the Japanese situation was that the state, in contrast to its efforts to keep what it regarded as "religion" out of schools, from the 1910s actively promoted having schoolchildren pay reverence at shrines (*jinja sanpai* 神社参拝). In the government's interpretation, such reverence was not "religious" because the state did not categorize shrines (unlike the Shinto sects) as religious institutions. Having schoolchildren pay reverence at shrines was, as government spokesmen explained it, intended to unify the "national spirit" (*kokumin seishin* 国民精神), not impose "religious belief."[4] This policy introduced ambiguities into the state's formally secularist stance, particularly as ever-stronger demand for the cultivation of "national spirit" in the 1930s and 1940s led to

* Acknowledgment: Many of the developments and materials discussed below are also taken up, from a somewhat different angle, in Nakai 2017. I am grateful to Bettina Gramlich-Oka for assistance in reading materials written in German.

1 Saunders 2009, pp. 61–63.

2 Kuru 2014, p. 154; Kuru 2009, pp. 217–18.

3 Kuru 2009. Kuru's categories of "assertive" and "passive" secularisms overlap to a considerable extent with José Casanova's demarcation of secularism as "ideology" from secularism as "statecraft principle." See Casanova 2011, pp. 66–71.

4 I have examined the evolution of the state's position on shrines and schools more fully in Nakai 2013.

increased emphasis on shrine reverence and ceremonial practices such as showing reverence to the Imperial Rescript on Education and the imperial portraits.

Even if the Japanese case departed in important ways from those of France and Turkey, however, Kuru's analysis offers some useful guidelines for considering the mixture of policies it encompassed and the response to them. Kuru points out that an assertive secularist state policy often spurs passive secularist counterarguments; he also emphasizes that the positions involved are never monolithic and frequently incorporate contradictions.[5] This was true in Japan as well. Religious groups, most particularly Christian ones, raised objections to both dimensions of prewar Japanese state policy regarding religion and education. Following Kuru, we might describe these critics of state policy as in effect staking out positions of passive secularism. Some Christian educators protested the extension of *laïcité* to private schools as preventing them from pursuing their conviction about proper forms of education. Christian educators likewise challenged government assertions that the promotion of shrine reverence and related ceremonial did not entail the enforcement of religious beliefs. To the contrary, they held, adopting such practices would require participation, against their conscience, in a religion other than their own. Typically, they supported their position by invoking the principle of freedom of belief set out in Article 28 of the Meiji Constitution.

From the last decades of the nineteenth century up to the end of World War II, friction arose repeatedly over these crisscrossing currents of assertive and passive secularism. But the positions staked out were neither uniform nor unchanging. Different Christian schools took different stances, and their responses to state policy were marked by adjustment and accommodation as well as resistance. Below I shall take a micro-history approach to considering some aspects of this situation by focusing on one particular case, that of Jōchi Daigaku 上智大学 (Sophia University), founded by the Society of Jesus in 1913 and the sole Catholic male institution of higher education in prewar Japan. Considerable research is available for the more numerous Protestant male schools. By contrast, the prewar Catholic experience has received much less attention.[6] Exploration of Jōchi's encounter with the issues sketched above should contribute, it may be hoped, to a broader overview. Jōchi's story is also relevant, if in a limited manner, to the much larger one, addressed by José Casanova and others, of Catholicism's multifaceted twentieth-century interaction with secularism

5 Jean Baubérot makes a similar point. See Baubérot 2010.

6 A brief comparison of publications by the schools themselves may serve to illustrate this point. As discussed below, four Christian-affiliated schools, including Jōchi, would ultimately be recognized as full-fledged universities under the University Ordinance of 1918. Two, Dōshisha 同志社 and Rikkyō 立教, have active, ongoing programs to publish research (in both book and specialized periodical form) as well as gather materials on school history. The third, Kwansei Gakuin 関西学院, has put out a multivolume university history combining analytical narrative with primary sources. Some Protestant schools that did not become recognized as universities until after the war, such as Meiji Gakuin 明治学院, have done the same. Jōchi has published a six-volume collection of documents related to university history (a crucial resource for this article), but apart from a valuable but brief account published privately by Theodor Geppert (Geppert 1993) and recent studies by Klaus Schatz based on materials in European Jesuit archives (Schatz 2010; Schatz 2013), there is no reliable analytical narrative. For lower-level schools, Mariakai 1968 offers a useful account of the activities of the Marianists, who operated two middle schools. Christian groups were also active in the area of female education, but both the state and general society had different expectations for women's higher education than for men's, and institutionally male and female schools above the primary level occupied different tiers within the educational structure. For that reason, the following discussion focuses exclusively on the situation of male schools.

in various parts of the world.[7] The Catholic Church came late to the field of Japanese higher education compared to various Protestant groups, and a strong sense of rivalry with the Protestants reinforced Jōchi's founders' determination to secure a place for a Catholic institution of higher learning among the already existing Protestant schools. The founders' primarily European background influenced how they dealt with the complexities of the environment they encountered, but the environment, too, left a mark on the approaches they adopted. To trace the evolution in their position, I shall first take up their response to the government's policy of separating religion and education and then examine how they dealt with the parallel issue of shrine reverence and other ceremonial forms promoted by the state.

State Secularism, Religion in Schools, and Accreditation

In the late 1860s and early 1870s the Meiji leadership experimented briefly with a theocratic program advocated by proponents of restoration Shinto. Thereafter, however, as a number of commentators have pointed out, the leaders moved steadily in the direction of establishing a secular polity, albeit one strongly inflected with a concern to foster national cohesion, loyalty to the emperor, and a commitment to goals set by the state.[8] As Trent Maxey observes, the various aspects of the move toward secularism were not the result of "a coherent secular*ist* project"; rather they emerged from pragmatic considerations, particularly worries about the potentially divisive consequences of state entanglement in competition between the followers of one line of Shinto thought or another, and between them and the equally divided Buddhist camp.[9] The effort to separate the state from religion resulted as well in a gradual evolution in official attitudes toward Christianity, the foreign religion seen initially as a dire threat that had to be kept from infiltrating the popular outlook. Government policy regarding Christianity shifted step by step from outright prohibition to tacit toleration, as with the legalization of "private"—rather than Buddhist or Shinto—funerals in 1884, to implicit recognition, which came in the late 1890s when Christian clerics and churches were brought within the scope of state administrative regulations along with Buddhist and Shinto groups.[10]

The promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 was a symbolic milestone in this process. Rejecting the advice of their European advisers, the constitution's compilers refrained from establishing a state religion, and Article 28 granted that "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties

7 See, for instance, Casanova 2006, pp. 24–28. See also Clark and Kaiser 2003; Atkin and Tallett 2003.

8 See, for instance, Nakajima 1972; Nakajima 1976; Nakajima 1977a; Nakajima 1977b; Yamaguchi 1999; Saitō 2006. In English, see Pittau 1967, pp. 159–95; Abe 1969a; Abe 1969b. Trent Maxey has recently provided a cogent and well-documented account of the evolution and character of Meiji state secularism; see Maxey 2014. For the tensions introduced into state secularism by the government's efforts to promote patriotism and loyalty to the emperor through measures such as the Rescript on Education, see Gluck 1985, pp. 102–56; Hardacre 1989, pp. 121–24. Shimazono Susumu 島薗進 stands as a notable exception to the tendency in recent years to move away from describing government policy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as one of State Shinto; see Shimazono 2009; Shimazono 2010. Regarding ambiguities in the applicability to modern Japan of the notion of the separation of state and religion, see Isomae 2013; Isomae 2014, pp. 264–96.

9 Maxey 2014, p. 3. Emphasis is Maxey's.

10 See Maxey 2014, pp. 170, 178, 214–15; Yamaguchi 1999, pp. 77–100, 245–67.

as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief."[11] The article focused on private belief, and the looseness of the specifications as to what might limit its public expression left that issue open to subjective and changing interpretation. Nevertheless, Article 28 in effect aligned the government with a position of passive secularism; as noted above, it also provided a frame of reference for those who argued against state policy from such a position.[12]

Although the government came to show a cautious toleration of Christianity in some regards, it remained on guard against it in others. This was particularly true in the field of education, where the government pursued a much more assertive secularist agenda directed foremost at Christian schools. From the beginning of their activities in Japan in the 1860s Protestant missionaries had seen education as a prime means of gaining a foothold in Japanese society, and private Christian-run schools came to occupy a disproportionately large place in the evolving system of national education compared to the number of Christian believers. Fueled by controversies such as the media debate in 1892–1893 regarding religion's (that is, Christianity's) compatibility with the aims of Japanese education, various circles within and without the government voiced concern about the dangers posed by Christian educators and schools. Calls for regulation of their activities grew stronger with the approach of the implementation of the revised treaties with the Western powers, which mandated opening the interior to unrestricted foreign residence. Signed in 1894, the treaties were scheduled to take effect in August 1899.

In preparation for the treaties' implementation, the government undertook to adjust mechanisms for regulating private education. Its main leverage in this area was the prerogative to grant or withhold accreditation, which the consolidation of the overall educational system endowed with increasing importance, particularly for male students. Graduation from an accredited school became a criterion for admission to an institution at the next higher level and to sit for state qualifying examinations. Whether a school was accredited or not bore also on its students' eligibility to obtain deferment of military service. Securing and maintaining accreditation thus became a necessity for private male secondary schools and higher institutions of education so as to attract a sufficient number of good students.[13]

The components of a system for accrediting private schools evolved slowly from the last decade of the nineteenth century and were not fully in place until the promulgation of the University Ordinance (*Daigaku rei* 大学令) in 1918. A key element of the package was the Private School Ordinance (*Shiritsu gakkō rei* 私立学校令), promulgated in 1899. This ordinance set various general conditions for accreditation that private schools of all levels needed to fulfill. Other conditions pertinent to the institutional category were covered in ordinances specific to those categories, such as the Middle School Ordinance (*Chūgakkō rei* 中学校令) of 1886 or the later University Ordinance.

The compilers of the Private School Ordinance considered incorporating in it an article forbidding religious activities within accredited schools. Elements within the government voiced reservations about the consequences—including the reaction of the

11 *Constitution of the Empire of Japan*.

12 On the Meiji Constitution and Article 28, see Abe 1969a; Abe 1969b; Nakajima 1976; Nakajima 1977b; Yasumaru 1988, pp. 553–55; Hardacre 1989, pp. 114–21; Yamaguchi 1999, pp. 143–54; Josephson 2012, pp. 226–36; Maxey 2014, pp. 183–89.

13 On the evolution of private higher education and the accreditation system, see Amano 2004; Amano 2013.

Western powers—of formalizing such a ban as an article of law. In the event, the ordinance itself omitted reference to the religious issue. Instead, parallel to the official ordinance, the Ministry of Education issued an instruction (*kunrei* 訓令), a form of administrative guidance directed at subordinate government offices rather than a legally binding measure. This instruction, known as Instruction 12, specified that since it was of the utmost importance to keep religion and education separate, no teaching of religion or religious ceremonies should be permitted, within or without the classroom, in schools under government supervision.[14]

Instruction 12 caused turmoil among the Protestant male schools, several of which had only recently received recognition as middle schools under the provisions of the Middle School Ordinance and with it the privilege of military deferment for their students. During the drafting of the Private School Ordinance and Instruction 12, representatives of the Protestant schools negotiated with the government to try to ameliorate the restriction of religious activities within their schools, and they debated fiercely among themselves how to respond once the instruction was issued. Dōshisha 同志社 and Rikkyō 立教 took the route of accommodation, with Rikkyō winning the Tokyo city government's agreement that it could separate its middle school and dormitory and continue to conduct Christian activities in the latter. Other schools, most particularly Meiji Gakuin 明治学院, opted to keep the practice of Christianity as part of their educational program and instead to revert to "miscellaneous" (*kakushu* 各種), that is unaccredited, status.

As noted above, Instruction 12 did not carry the weight of a formal law, and its application proved to be ambiguous in many regards, as can be seen from the fact that Rikkyō obtained agreement that it could continue religious activities in its dormitory. Nevertheless, the instruction constituted a key instrument for the extension of an assertively secularist policy to the private educational arena, and local governments and the Ministry of Education continued to employ it in their dealings with religiously affiliated schools up to the end of World War II. Conflict over the instruction in 1899 centered on middle schools because at the time that was the highest educational level at which private institutions could seek formal government recognition. Higher educational levels were not exempt, however, from the principle of keeping religious instruction and ceremonies out of schools. As further categories of accreditation specifically applicable to higher education were put in place in the following years, Instruction 12 remained pertinent to them together with the Private School Ordinance.

The first stage in the creation of a systematic framework of accreditation for higher education was the promulgation in 1903 of the Specialized School Ordinance (*Senmon gakkō rei* 専門学校令), under which a wide range of private institutions succeeded in gaining official approval. They included fifteen Christian-affiliated schools of various sorts as well

14 *Gakusei hyakunenshi: Shiryōhen*. The long-standard treatment of the evolution and initial application of Instruction 12 is Hisaki 1973–1976. For recent accounts bringing new materials to light, see particularly Nakajima 2012; Ōe 2014. Nakajima documents the pressures brought by the representatives of foreign governments, particularly the United States, to forestall incorporation of a ban on religious activities within the Private School Ordinance. See also Maxey 2014, pp. 215–17. For the thinking of key government figures about the relationship between religion and education in the period leading up to the Private School Law and Instruction 12, see Saitō 2006, chapter 6.

as leading private institutions such as Waseda 早稲田 and Keiō 慶応.[15] Meanwhile, another development was taking place. Some private institutions began to seek recognition of a different sort: the right to refer to themselves as *daigaku* 大学, or university, in a manner comparable to the imperial universities. Waseda took the lead in this, and in September 1902, just six months before promulgation of the Specialized School Ordinance, won the Ministry of Education's agreement. As a condition for the right to call itself a university, Waseda proposed to establish a year-and-a-half preparatory division (*yoka* 予科), which would focus on foreign-language training (in this case, English) as an essential base to proper "university" education. The training offered in the preparatory division, although shorter, would be equivalent to that received in the three-year higher schools by those going on to the imperial universities.[16]

Once Waseda had obtained permission to call itself a *daigaku*, others among the specialized-school category sought the same. By 1905 there were sixteen such private specialized-school *daigaku*, including six small Buddhist-related schools. Christian schools were slower in joining their ranks. Of the fifteen Christian-affiliated specialized schools, only two had become specialized-school *daigaku* by 1913: Rikkyō in 1907 and Dōshisha in 1912.[17] These two again took the lead at the next stage of evolution of the system of university recognition: promulgation of the University Ordinance in 1918. In contrast to the far less specific Specialized School Ordinance, the University Ordinance stipulated various conditions for obtaining approval under it, including the deposit of a substantial endowment, having sufficient numbers of academically qualified faculty, and possessing an adequate library and other facilities. The hurdles were set at a high level, but the reward for overcoming them was certification as a full-fledged university, formally on a par with the imperial universities. By 1927 twenty-two private schools had met the requirements for approval as a university under the University Ordinance; Dōshisha did so in 1920 and was followed by Rikkyō in 1922.[18]

It is not coincidental that the Christian schools mentioned up to now have all been Protestant. Until the end of the nineteenth century, Christian engagement in Japanese education, including the confrontation with the government over the Private School Ordinance and Instruction 12, was largely a Protestant story. Several reasons for this may be surmised. One was a difference in perception of the relationship between evangelization and education. As touched on above, from an early stage Protestant missionaries saw education as an effective entry point for evangelization. They typically combined religious activities such as preaching with a more broadly oriented offering of classes in various subjects, particularly English. The major pre-World War II male Protestant schools all emerged out of this background, which explains as well their commitment to incorporating religion in their educational program. Their early start meant, too, that Protestant secondary and higher

15 See Ejima 2014b. The entities approved included a number of Christian theological seminaries as well as theological programs associated with schools such as Meiji Gakuin and Dōshisha. The government distinguished, in effect, between the "professional" training of religionists, which it acknowledged as a legitimate enterprise, and "ordinary" education, from which it sought to exclude the propagation of religion.

16 Amano 2004, vol. 1, pp. 366–83. The qualification for admission to private institutions of higher learning was typically completion of middle school, not higher school.

17 Amano 2004, vol. 1, pp. 383–91; vol. 2, pp. 168–76.

18 Apart from the works by Amano cited above, see also Ejima 2014a; Ejima 2014b.

educational institutions took shape in tandem with the evolution of state policy sketched above. It was partly because of this intertwined process of development that Instruction 12 caused such turmoil among the Protestant schools.

Catholic missionaries did not combine religious and educational roles in the same manner. Until the early twentieth century, Catholic evangelical and pastoral activities in Japan were essentially under the charge of the Paris Foreign Missions Society (Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris). The Paris Missions fathers opened seminaries for training native priests and catechists, but they did not engage in a broader educational outreach.[19] The first move in that direction, as far as male education was concerned, came with the arrival in 1888 of the Marianists, a French teaching order that focused on providing schooling at the primary- and middle-school level. The Marianists established two schools for boys, Gyōsei 暁星 in Tokyo in 1888 and Kaisei 海星 in Nagasaki in 1891. The Marianists' recent arrival perhaps helps account for their quite low-key response to the government's adoption of an assertively secularist approach to private schools. In contrast to the Protestant schools, the Marianists evidently saw it as more prudent to adapt to government policy than to challenge it openly. Neither Marianist school had as yet gained official recognition by 1899, but shortly after the promulgation of the Private School Ordinance and the issuing of Instruction 12, Gyōsei obtained accreditation as a middle school. Preserving accreditation seems to have required some camouflage of the religious elements in the school's program, but in letters to the Marianist headquarters in France, the Gyōsei head reported having managed to deflect the objections of Ministry of Education inspectors without resorting to the kind of open protests of the instruction mounted by the Protestants, which he saw as having had negative results.[20]

Given that the Vatican at the time officially opposed rather than supported the idea of freedom of belief, the Marianists may have hesitated to call upon that notion to challenge the state's assertive secularism in the same manner as the Protestants. Differences in national background may also have been a factor. The Protestant hardline holdouts against accommodation were missionaries from the United States who saw the issue of freedom of religion as bound up with the principle that the state should not limit exercise of that freedom within the private educational sphere. By contrast, the French missionaries came from a country in the midst of a renewed move toward the secularization of education. In 1878 the Marianists had been forced to close fifteen of their schools in France, and the promulgation in 1886 of a law prohibiting clerics from teaching in state schools had led to their removal from those.[21] They perhaps brought with them a sense that it would be wiser to bend nominally with the wind while finding other ways to pursue their own course. The founders of Jōchi would follow a similar strategy in dealing with the dimension of state secularism that called for keeping religion out of schools.

19 For an account of the approach adopted by the Paris Missions fathers and their general tendency to favor ministering to the ordinary populace over intellectual outreach to the educated, see Yamanashi 2011.

20 Mariakai 1968, pp. 146–49.

21 Mariakai 1999, p. 24. Following the promulgation of the Law on the Separation of the Churches and the State of 1905, the Marianist facilities in France would be closed and the order's headquarters, previously located in Paris, were moved to Belgium.

Negotiating the Establishment of a Jesuit University

Since the Marianists specialized in primary and secondary education, the entry of the Catholic Church into the area of higher education in Japan had to await the decision by Pope Pius X in 1906 to ask the Society of Jesus to undertake the creation there of an "institute of higher learning." This decision can be traced in substantial measure to the arguments of Joseph Dahlmann (1861–1930), a German Jesuit who visited Japan in late 1903 and wrote several reports about what he observed.

Dahlmann did not couch his recommendations in terms of goals of immediate conversion or establishing schools that would propagate Catholic doctrine. He emphasized, rather, the need to find effective ways to establish a stronger Catholic intellectual presence within what was already a secularized, modern society. He described Japan as a technologically advanced country with a high level of education and intellectual life. The educated classes were not attached to the traditional native forms of religion, but, to the contrary, found them lacking. At the same time, they were conscious of a spiritual and moral void. What was above all responsible for this void was the dominant influence among the educated of mistaken forms of Western learning and religion, an influence that could be laid to a great extent at the door of the Protestants. The Christianity that educated Japanese knew was largely that espoused by liberal Protestants. This situation had served to "foster the indifference to religion and the materialism that in Japan are a threat to Christianity." The Catholic Church had hitherto failed to counter this threat effectively because of overreliance on methods of proselytization oriented to backward, primitive peoples. This had resulted in their yielding ground to the Protestants and had further led to an unfortunate impression among the Japanese that Catholicism was primarily a French church. As a consequence, educated Japanese, despite their admiration for German culture and learning, thought of Germany solely in terms of Protestantism and were not aware of the existence of German Catholicism. To overcome these various problems, it was essential to introduce a Catholic intellectual outlook in a manner suited to the contemporary conditions of Japanese society.[22]

Acting on the pope's request, in the autumn of 1908 the Jesuit superior general dispatched three members of the society, including Dahlmann, to Japan. They were to explore the situation with an eye to establishing in some form an institute of higher learning with an emphasis on philosophy. In line with Dahlmann's recommendation, members of the German Province of the Society of Jesus (then banned by the German government from activity in Germany) and its offshoots in the United States would play a central role in charting the institute's course.

The three Jesuits who arrived in 1908 did not bring with them a clear prescription for the nature of their institute of higher learning or how it should fit within the Japanese educational framework. As they and those who joined them debated these matters over the next several years, they reached the conclusion that their enterprise needed to be situated within the system of higher education accredited by the Japanese government to have the desired impact. From late 1912 into the first months of 1913, they negotiated approval of a

22 Regarding Dahlmann's role and arguments, see Geppert 1993; Schatz 2010; reports included in *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 1; Dahlmann 1909. I am grateful to Laura Nenzi for providing a translation of this last piece. The direct quote is from *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 1, pp. 24, 181.

university under the provisions of the Specialized School Ordinance. They thus followed the example of Rikkyō and Dōshisha. Leapfrogging over the other Protestant schools, the Jesuits' institute, named Jōchi Daigaku, became the third Christian-affiliated specialized-school university. It consisted of a two-year preparatory division, devoted almost entirely to classes in German and English, and a three-year main division.

Despite seeking to establish a Catholic institution that would counter what they saw as the Protestant influence on Japanese intellectual life, the Jesuits did not emphasize the Catholic dimensions of their enterprise in their dealings with the state. Having arrived on the scene a decade after the government had made clear through Instruction 12 its determination to keep religion out of the classroom, they paid due heed to the secularist premises of state educational policy. On more than one occasion in the course of their negotiations with the Ministry of Education the question arose: Would it be a mission school? Did they intend to teach religion? No, they responded each time. Religion would not be part of the formal curriculum and instruction in it would be offered only to those requesting it.[23]

In line with this stance, both the articles of incorporation for Jōchi Gakuin 上智学院, the juridical corporation established to purchase land and operate the university, and the statutes for Jōchi Daigaku avoided any reference to religious aims or even the founders' religious affiliation. The articles of incorporation identified Hermann Hoffmann (1864–1937), who in 1910 had become head of the small community of Jesuits in Tokyo, as the corporation's founder, but the document described him simply as "a German subject." It defined the corporation's purpose to be "the education of young men and the promotion of their intellectual, moral, social, and physical welfare." The initial statutes for the university under the Specialized School Ordinance described its object as "to offer comprehensive higher education in the fields of philosophy, German literature, and commerce."[24]

The Jesuits held to the same position fifteen years later in 1928, when they had at last managed to secure the endowment and undertake the enlargement of facilities and staff needed to obtain elevation to university status under the 1918 University Ordinance. Again following Rikkyō and Dōshisha, Jōchi became the third Christian-affiliated school to be recognized as a University-Ordinance university. (Kwansei Gakuin 関西学院 would subsequently join their ranks in 1932.) As part of the process of applying for approval under the University Ordinance, the administration reformulated the university statutes. The description of the university's aim in the revised statutes was slightly more elaborate than it had been in the 1913 statutes, but it was equally circumspect about the issue of religion: "The object of the university is, in accordance with the University Ordinance, to bring students to master academic theories and their application in the fields of philosophy, literature, and commerce, and to have them investigate the principles underlying these subjects."[25]

Strategies of Compartmentalization

Sustained, perhaps, by a tradition of resourcefulness in dealing with challenging moral and political exigencies, the Jesuits seem to have been confident that through a combination of

23 Geppert 1993, pp. 53–54.
24 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 1, pp. 114, 116–17; vol. 2, p. 33.
25 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 130.

compartmentalization and discretion they would be able to achieve their aim of conveying a Catholic intellectual perspective even within the restrictions imposed by secularist Japanese educational policy. One strategy was to utilize arenas adjacent to but not fully incorporated within the university structure. For the Jesuits, as at other schools such as Rikkyō, the dormitory was a natural focus of attention. The dormitory was not limited to students enrolled at Jōchi. Initially a significant portion of the residents were evidently non-Catholic, but this, together with the mixture of students from different institutions, seems to have resulted in factionalism and friction. To resolve the problem, the Jesuits closed the dormitory for several months from the end of 1919, and when they reopened it at the start of a new school year in April 1920, limited eligibility for residence to Catholic believers and those interested in receiving instruction in the faith.[26] Thereafter it became a center for Catholic activities on the university's grounds. A report on developments in Tokyo sent to an overseas Jesuit journal noted for October 1920 that Hoffmann was giving "religious instruction in Japanese to those non-Christian students who desire it on every Wednesday afternoon. He gives similar instruction three evenings each week to the residents of the University dormitory."[27] From about the same period the dormitory acquired the name Aroijio Juku アロイジオ塾 (Aloysius Hall), after St. Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591), an early Jesuit who died young and was subsequently declared the patron saint of students.

The Jesuits also made efforts to develop connections with students at other universities and the general public. Eventually, in 1931, following the gaining of recognition as a University-Ordinance university, they established what came to be known as the Center for Catholic Information. Notices were placed in newspapers that every Saturday there would be opportunities for discussion of Catholic teachings at the university and on Sunday a lecture on the same topic.[28] In 1937 this program was expanded and recast under the new name Kulturheim. A leaflet described the Kulturheim as directed at those who in "the midst of unprecedented intellectual turmoil" were seeking "the light of truth and a compass for their own spiritual life." To this end it would provide a place for

> free investigation of both the Christian culture that lies at the base of European and American civilization and the various problems and issues arising daily.… In this way those who are Catholic will be able to correctly examine and consolidate that worldview, while those who are not will be exposed to Catholic culture and will gain a correct awareness of actual circumstances in the West.[29]

Despite such efforts, Catholics remained a small minority (generally less than 10 percent) among the likewise small student body, and converts, of whom the Jesuits kept careful count, grew only slowly. The Jesuits recorded their first baptism in 1917, and by 1921, the number had reached five, two of whom were Chinese foreign students.[30] Given that they could reach only a small percentage of students through openly Catholic activities outside the classroom, the Jesuits necessarily had to rely primarily on indirect methods to

26 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 199–200.
27 *Woodstock Letters* 50 (1921), p. 250.
28 *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 13 (1931), p. 159.
29 Undated publicity leaflet for the Kulturheim, held by Sophia University Archives (JDS).
30 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 1, pp. 165–66, 171; Schatz 2013, vol. 3, p. 299, nn. 1482, 1483.

convey a Catholic outlook within their main educational program. From the beginning they identified a course on ethics as a key opportunity for such an approach. This course, listed under the Japanese title "Rinri" 倫理, was required, with Ministry of Education encouragement, for all students in the Preparatory Division, both first and second year, within a curriculum that was otherwise heavily weighted, as noted above, toward language training in German and English. Presumably because it needed to be taught in Japanese, Hoffmann initially assigned the course to Tsuchihashi Yachita 土橋八千太 (1866–1965), the lone Japanese Jesuit for the university's first several decades of existence. Expressing some reservations about Tsuchihashi's intellectual formation, however, Hoffmann wrote the Jesuit superior general that Hoffmann himself would prepare a "precise curriculum" for the course.[31] From 1915 Hoffmann took over the class. Some years later, in a letter to the superior general, he observed that in a situation where, as in all state-accredited schools, religious instruction could not be offered directly, the ethics class provided the best access to faith, as it could set forth the basic truths of natural religion, such as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the objective of human life.[32]

The annual reports on the university's operation submitted to the Tokyo city government described the course's import somewhat differently (although undoubtedly in the Jesuits' eyes the two perspectives were not incompatible). Under the heading "Circumstances regarding Students' Moral Training (*kun'iku* 訓育)," the reports consistently began by stating that "classes on ethics inculcate a spirit of loyalty and patriotism and always pay attention to the formation of good character (*hinsei no tōya* 品性の陶冶)."[33]

The Jesuits found other ways as well to incorporate the principles of Jesuit schooling within their class instruction. In a journal circulated among his fellow American Jesuits, Mark McNeal (1874–1934), who arrived in the autumn of 1914, described how he did this in the classes on English that he taught in the Preparatory Division. For the first-year class, he used as a text Charles Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. "The recitations and … paraphrase of difficult words and sentences," he noted, "[require] an analysis of grammatical constructions and an interpretation of the story with some erudition. It thus corresponds almost exactly to what is prescribed in the Ratio [Studiorum; the plan of studies traditionally followed in Jesuit schools] for the handling of a Latin author without the use of the vernacular." Further, although the students might previously have been exposed to some of the stories, the unfamiliarity of "the outlook on life and morals" portrayed in the Shakespearean tales offered an opportunity to provide much pertinent information. For his second-year class, McNeal used selections from Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra*. He had "many occasions in both classes," he wrote,

> to point out lessons of morality and especially of chivalry which make a cumulative impression without being in any way forced or suggestive of an uninvited propaganda. Tangible results are seen in the inquiries put to me and still more in the number of really desirable candidates who ask for religious instruction to be given them in private.[34]

31 Letter dated 1 April 1913; ARSI Jap 1002-XV, 15.
32 Schatz 2013, vol. 3, p. 299.
33 Report for 1915 and subsequent reports held by JDS.
34 Letter dated 4 April 1918, in *Woodstock Letters*, vol. 48 (1919), pp. 128–29.

Accommodation to Secular Social Forces

While governmental educational policy set restrictions on overt religious instruction within the classroom, the generally secular orientation of the larger social environment posed its own demands for accommodation. The evolution of the curriculum shows the impact of this situation on the Jesuits' expectations for their institution. From the beginning the Jesuits had seen a program in philosophy as the core of their enterprise. The plan for the Main Division that they submitted to the Ministry of Education for approval consisted of two components, the first of which incorporated two "departments": Philosophy and German Literature. The former clearly received greater emphasis. The curriculum listed fifteen subjects in philosophy, from logic and ontology to esthetics and Indian philosophy (the specialty of Joseph Dahlmann and the one non-Western subject in the entire curriculum). The German Literature Department offered seven subjects, but two of these were "Survey of Philosophy" and "History of Philosophy." The assumption was that almost all of these courses would be taught in German, which those enrolling in them would have studied intensively in the Preparatory Division.[35]

The Jesuits were realistic enough to recognize that such classes would likely appeal to only a limited number of potential students; to reach a wider audience they would have to offer as well a program with a more practical orientation. In addition to the departments in Philosophy and German Literature, they thus established one in Commerce. In so doing, they aligned themselves with the Protestant mission schools and private institutions of higher learning in general. With the rise of a white-collar company employee stratum, programs in commerce were becoming the bread-and-butter staple of private schools. In the event, instead of serving as a supplement, the Commerce Department came in many ways to be the main draw. It attracted by far the majority of applicants and graduated many more students than the Philosophy and German Literature departments. Jōchi was an extremely small operation. It had an official admissions quota of one hundred students per year, but the actual student body was much smaller. In the first fifteen years of its existence prior to achieving elevation under the University Ordinance, it graduated a total of 161 students; of these, 121, or 75 percent, were from the Commerce Department.[36] The imbalance continued subsequent to the elevation to full university status.

The courses in the Commerce Department, which included typewriting, stenography, bookkeeping, and commercial composition in German and English, as well as more technical subjects (and also a two-year course on commercial ethics), were taught largely in Japanese and almost entirely by Japanese adjunct professors (see figure 1).[37] Hoffmann wrote that to create the program, the Tokyo Jesuits would look to the model of the Jesuit college of commerce and trade established in 1852 in Antwerp.[38] Nevertheless, the Jesuits' involvement in the Commerce Department courses was inevitably far less direct than in those in Philosophy and German Literature, and Hoffmann noted on more than one occasion the need for a Jesuit with specialized training in economic subjects.[39] Ultimately, in the mid-1920s, a younger Jesuit from Germany, Johannes Kraus (1892–1946), would be sent to study economics at

35 Curriculum submitted to Ministry of Education 14 March 1913, held by JDS.
36 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 47.
37 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 34–45.
38 Letter to superior general of 1 April 1913 (ARSI Jap 1002-XV, 15).
39 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 58–59.

Figure 1. Typewriting class for first-year students in the Commerce Department (Main Division). Image courtesy of Sophia University Archives (JDS).

the University of London and political science at Cologne in preparation for dispatching him to Japan to teach these subjects at Jōchi. After arriving in Tokyo in 1929, Kraus established a wide circle of contacts and spoke and wrote in a variety of venues on current events and social and political issues, including population policy. His presence at the university resulted in a stronger orientation toward topics that were of broad current interest in Japanese society.

Meanwhile changes also appeared in the core curricular area of philosophy and literature. Whereas the original curriculum had been heavily weighted toward philosophy, the balance shifted in the list of courses submitted to the Ministry of Education in 1927 for accreditation under the University Ordinance. The courses in German literature were more extensive and specialized, while the program in philosophy became somewhat amorphous. The specialized classical philosophical topics largely disappeared, replaced by courses in education, sociology, and anthropology. At the same time, courses on German literature and culture came to occupy a substantial part of the program in philosophy as well as that in literature.[40]

We can perhaps see here a subtle shift in intellectual identity. The German Jesuits at Jōchi had always seen themselves as representatives of German learning and culture. They taught German language and literature as well as philosophy, and given that only a few students were interested in specialized philosophical topics and even fewer able to follow classes on such topics taught in German, it was probably only natural that the Jesuits came to put increasing emphasis on classes in literature and culture. As a result, by the 1930s the "institute of higher learning" focused on philosophy had become better known for preparing students to work in large commercial firms and as a center for the dissemination of German culture.

Taking Stock of Accommodation to the Separation of Religion and Education

Regardless, or more likely, as a consequence of these accommodations, the Jesuits could feel by 1932 that they had made significant strides in winning a place for their school within Japanese society. Enrollments were still small, but Jōchi was numbered among the twenty-five private institutions by then recognized as universities under the University Ordinance. Despite its late start compared to its Protestant rivals, it was one of only four Christian schools to secure that status. The year 1932 marked the culmination of the process of achieving recognition. The Ministry of Education had set as one condition for

40 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 116–17, 131–32; supp. vol., pp. 51–54.

granting recognition a promise by the university to expand and improve its facilities. The university thus embarked on several construction projects, the most important of which, a new main building, was started in June 1930 and completed two years later. To celebrate the building's completion and admission to the ranks of full-fledged universities, Jōchi put on a week-long series of commemorative events in mid June 1932. In combination the events provided a symbolic summation of the course that the Jesuits had charted for their Catholic institution in the Japanese secular educational environment of the 1910s to 1930s.

Figure 2. The private "religious ceremony" held 12 June 1932 in the auditorium of the new main building. Image courtesy of JDS.

The organizers drew a careful distinction between events with religious import and those of a general, public nature. The first event, held on Sunday, 12 June, was the consecration of the new building in a Pontifical Mass celebrated by the apostolic delegate to Japan, Edward Mooney (1882–1958). The advance schedule of commemorative events distributed to the students identified this simply as "religious ceremony" (*shūkyō gishiki* 宗教儀式) and noted that attendance was voluntary.[41] The university had held a similar ceremony two years earlier to bless the cornerstone. Reporting on that ceremony, one of the Jesuits wrote to his fellows in Germany, "It was a genuine pleasure for Ours to make this profession of religious purpose and of fidelity to the Holy See represented there by the Apostolic Delegate." He added, "Since in Japan the pagans ever accompany such celebrations by the religious demonstrations of the Shinto priests, this could be done by Ours without exciting the antagonism of the unbelievers."[42] Arrangements for the June 1932 Mass, conducted in the auditorium of the new building, presumably rested on similar assumptions (see figure 2).

The main public events were the formal ceremony of completion on 14 June, for which attendance by all students was required, a series of commemorative lectures held on the 15th, musical and theatrical events, and a sports festival on the 18th. The ceremony on the 14th, held in the same auditorium as the Mass two days earlier, was described in *The Japan Times* as the "secular opening" of the building and by the Jesuits themselves as the "civic celebration" (*weltliche Akt der Übergabe*). It featured, in addition to an address by President Hoffmann, messages of congratulations from the minister of education (read by

41 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 3, pp. 22–24.

42 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 3, pp. 3–5, 244–47; *Woodstock Letters* 59 (1930), pp. 426–29. The English version in *Woodstock Letters* is a translation of the original German carried in *Aus dem Lande der gehenden Sonne* 9 (1930), p. 97.

Figure 3. The public "civic celebration" held in the same auditorium two days later; President Hoffmann addresses the assembled guests. Image courtesy of JDS.

the vice-minister), from representatives of the diplomatic corps, from the president of Keiō University, and from the German East Asiatic Society and the German Japanese Association.[43]

Surveying this array of events, President Hoffmann could reasonably conclude that the Jesuits had succeeded in negotiating a modus vivendi between their and the government's educational principles. He expressed just such a conviction in his speech (in German) for the celebratory ceremonies on 14 June (see figure 3). He chose this as an occasion to speak explicitly to the implications of the university's Catholic background. "The university may be described as Catholic," he declared,

> but this does not mean that Catholic religious teachings are included in the curriculum. In compliance with legal regulations, that is not the case. The university is intended to be a scholarly representative of the Catholic Church in Japan. It should make evident that the Catholic world view is based on solid scientific grounds and provides a reliable and appropriate solution for all the great questions of life. Catholic schools have always held firmly that education and formation do not mean merely the transmission of useful and necessary knowledge, but, above all, character building.

He went on to emphasize that the church actively supported loyalty to emperor and state and respect for authority.

> The Catholic Church is a world church that willingly acknowledges the good particular to each nation; it thus in no way stands in opposition to what is rightly admired in the Japanese people. The young Japanese is a member of a large, powerful empire, the particular characteristic of which is the national unity deriving from loyal devotion to the imperial state and which in our time has become the object of admiration of the entire world because of its amazing progress in all areas of Western culture. Now, at all times Catholic education is concerned to uphold the rights of proper authority. It makes clear that true freedom does not mean complete lack of restraint or unfettered "self-indulgence," but, to the contrary, encompasses recognition of all duties to family

43 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 3, pp. 16–17, 21, 256–59; *Woodstock Letters* 62 (1933), pp. 103–107; *The Japan Times*, 14 June 1932; *Japan Advertiser*, 15 June 1932.

> and country. It makes clear that the individual should not think only of himself, but must recognize all the obligations arising from his position in human society.

Hoffmann concluded by reiterating Jōchi's commitment to producing "young men who love their fatherland, are loyal to their emperor, and actualize these sentiments through a zealous devotion to duty, and who see their own happiness in the well-being of the state."[44]

Confronting the Other Side of Japanese Secularity

The "religion" and "education" issue in some regards reprised controversies already familiar from recent European experience, a factor that perhaps facilitated the Jesuits' flexibility in responding to it. But if Hoffmann could be confident that the Jesuits had found ways to deal with secularity in the form of the separation of "religion" and "education," trouble lurked in a more alien dimension of the state's secular stance—the blurring of the lines between "civic" expectations and obligations, on the one hand, and rituals associated with shrines, on the other. In an ironic conjunction of events, the Jesuits received warning of that trouble on 14 June 1932, the same day that Hoffmann gave his speech before assembled dignitaries in the new university auditorium. A telephone call from the Ministry of Education informed the university that because of the failure of several students five weeks earlier to offer reverence at Yasukuni Shrine, the army was seeking to withdraw the military training officer (*haizoku shōkō* 配属将校) assigned to Jōchi.[45]

From the 1910s on, the government had steadily promoted participation in shrine rites as a school activity. Many Christian groups objected vehemently to this from a passive secularist position: the government, they held, was in fact imposing adherence to a state religion in contradiction to the constitutional guarantee of freedom of belief. The Catholic Church repeatedly condemned the government policy as requiring Catholics to engage in an act of superstition and forbade believers to take part in such rites. In line with this stance, the Jesuits from the beginning tried to keep a distance from shrine rites and practices they saw as related to them. At the end of 1913, for example, they decided that they would no longer follow the Japanese custom of putting out the New Year's decorations known as *kadomatsu* 門松, presumably because they held it to smack of paganism.[46]

They showed a similar attitude toward shrine-related events of major public import. In late November 1920, the Tokyo city government sent out an inquiry as to what schools had done to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the handing down of the Rescript on Education (issued 30 October 1890) and the enshrinement of Emperor Meiji on 1 November of that year. The university replied somewhat disingenuously that it had not done anything:

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44 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 3, pp. 17–19, 259–62.

45 I have written more fully on the Yasukuni incident and its background in the policies toward shrines of the government and Catholic Church in Nakai 2013. See also Swyngedouw 1967; Minamiki 1985; Krämer 2002; Gurōbu 2006; Schatz 2012.

46 Henri Boucher diary, entry for 31 December 1913. A typed transcript of the original (in Latin) is held by JDS; excerpts translated into Japanese are included in *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 1. For this entry, see p. 157.

> As many of the professors, including the president, are foreign, there are things they do not fully understand about Japanese ceremonies. They also were concerned that student attendance might be low. Thus the school did not hold any ceremonies whatsoever; it canceled classes for all students for four days, including the anniversary of the school's founding, so that students could do *sanpai* on their own.[47]

With an acerbic touch, Mark McNeal contrasted the events held at other schools on 1 November with what had taken place at Jōchi:

> All Saints' Day was incongruously celebrated by the non-Christians by the formal opening of the newly erected shrine in honor of the late Emperor Meiji.… Ceremonies were held in all the non-Christian schools with solemn bowing in the direction of the temple at the moment when the symbol of the Emperor's soul was placed in the shrine. On the same day, Francis Xavier Sebastian Mihara [a student in his last year] was baptized in our college chapel, choosing, as he said, patrons who would inspire him with courage …[48]

Nine years later in 1929, a similar situation arose regarding performing "reverence from afar" (*yōhai* 遙拝) at the time the deities of the Ise Shrines were transferred from the old sanctuaries to the new as the culmination of the twenty-year cycle of the shrines' renewal. Several Catholic secondary schools, including the two boy's middle schools operated by the Marianists, deliberately refrained from performing *yōhai* on this occasion. This stance caused a substantial furor and resulted in official reprimands being meted out to the schools' administrators.[49] Pressure on universities to join in commemorating the event seems to have been somewhat less direct. The Ministry of Education issued a notice inviting universities to send student representatives to offer reverence within the Ise Shrine grounds, but Jōchi's declining of the invitation seemingly had no immediately untoward effect.[50]

The consequences of the Jōchi students failing to offer reverence at Yasukuni Shrine in early May 1932 were to be far more serious. Their action (or nonaction) when taken to the shrine by the military training officer as part of class exercises, and Hoffmann's subsequent defense of it to the officer as faithful to Catholic teachings, set off a complex sequence of events that extended over the next year and a half, and in some regards beyond that. The army declared that the university had shown itself to be not in accord with the *kokutai* 国体 (in other words, the fundamental basis of the state) and thus not deserving of a training officer. This assertion posed a major threat to Jōchi. The presence of a training officer was an important educational and social credential, and loss of the officer would be a blot on the university's reputation. The army's demand that the officer be withdrawn was also a challenge to the Ministry of Education, which had accredited the university. As the army and Ministry of Education operated the military training officer system jointly, the Ministry

47 Response from university dated 30 November 1920, held by JDS.

48 *Woodstock Letters* 50 (1921), p. 251. "College chapel" refers to the Jesuits' personal residential chapel; there was no university chapel as such.

49 On this incident, see Nakai 2013, pp. 125–28.

50 Notice from the Ministry of Education dated 5 September 1929; response from the university dated 14 September 1929, held by JDS.

of Education's agreement was needed for the officer to be withdrawn. Not wanting to yield to the army's assertiveness, the ministry shared a common interest with the university in trying to keep that from happening.

Drawn together in a rather odd and not wholly comfortable alliance, between June and the end of September, the Ministry of Education and representatives of the university and Catholic Church worked together behind the scenes to find a solution to the issue of participation in shrine rites. The object was not only to forestall withdrawal of the officer, but also to overcome a long-festering problem that affected Catholic schoolchildren throughout the country. The solution that took shape in autumn 1932 in essence bypassed the passive secularist argument that the state should not require students to take part in the rites of a "religion" other than their own. Moving the issue into a different field of reference, it centered on reaching an official consensus as to the "civil" character of such participation in shrine rites. The Tokyo archbishop requested the Ministry of Education to affirm that the reasons for requiring attendance at "school exercises in connection with national [shrines] … have to do with patriotism and not with religion," and to this end to make "clear that the bow in which the assembled group is invited to join on such occasions has a significance which is exclusively patriotic and in no sense religious." In its reply the ministry avoided any explicit reference to "religion," but it otherwise provided a response in line with the framework the archbishop had set out. *Sanpai* by students was based on educational reasons, and the bow they were asked to perform in unison was "none other than to express patriotic commitment and sincere loyalty." With this statement in hand, the archbishop proceeded to give permission for Catholic students to take part in group *sanpai* and informed the Ministry of Education that henceforth they would do so.[51]

In the event, this compromise did not achieve its immediate aim: by transferring the officer as part of a routine rotation and not providing a replacement, the army found a way to remove the officer without the Ministry of Education's agreement. It would only relent and designate a new training officer for Jōchi a year later, in November 1933, after a series of appeals by the university and the Ministry of Education. Together with those appeals, the university made a yet more explicit declaration of its commitment to *jinja sanpai* as a civil rather than religious form of reverence, an "expression of the Imperial Way (*kōdō* 皇道) within the sphere of the public life of the people of the nation."[52]

Coming on the heels of the triumphant celebration of the university's achievements thus far, the Yasukuni incident shook Jōchi to its roots. Student enrollments, around 315 in May 1932, were 264 a year later, and by the end of 1933, had dropped to around 220. Applications for admission likewise declined. The administration would take great care to avoid similar dangers thenceforth. Meanwhile the Catholic Church moved steadily to consolidate its new interpretation of shrine rites. Eventually, in 1936, the Propaganda Fide, the Vatican office responsible for overseeing missionary activities, issued a formal instruction to the Catholic hierarchy in Japan concerning the duties of Catholics toward their country. The statement called on the bishops to "instruct the faithful that, since these [shrine] ceremonies have only a purely civil value, it is lawful for Catholics to take part in them."[53]

51 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, supp. vol., pp. 115, 279–80; vol. 3, pp. 74, 273–74.
52 *Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 3, p. 91.
53 Minamiki 1985, pp. 154–57; Swyngedouw 1967, pp. 582–84; Schatz 2012, pp. 470–74.

Converging Views of a Spiritualized Secular

The Church's affirmation of shrine rites as civil rather than religious in nature obviated the grounds for a passive-secularist opposition to participation in them. In effect it thus also facilitated rapprochement with the general trend toward what might be termed the "spiritualization" of national life visible from the mid-1930s on. Promoted through policies such as the National Spirit Mobilization Campaign (Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin 国民精神総動員), announced by the Konoe Cabinet in September 1937, the trend toward spiritualization was accompanied by ever more explicit demands on educational institutions to inculcate devotion to state and emperor through ceremonial as well as other means. Against the backdrop of these developments and the trauma of the Yasukuni incident, the Jōchi Jesuits' interaction with Japanese secularity evolved as well. Notably, the gap shrunk, at least formally, between their and the government's perception of the proper scope of a nonreligious educational sphere infused with expressions of Japanese spirit.

The most striking evidence of the narrowing of the gap in perception was the attitude that the Jesuits took toward shrine-related rituals that previously had been off-bounds to Catholics. By 1935, a year before Rome officially sanctioned offering reverence at shrines as an expression of patriotic civic life in which Catholics should participate together with other Japanese, Jōchi incorporated *sanpai* to Meiji Shrine into the annual events marking entrance to the university by new students and the start of the new school year. Following the entrance ceremony held in the university auditorium, all students, faculty, and staff went en masse to the shrine to offer reverence.[54] The university also adopted the practice of making an en masse *sanpai* to Yasukuni on the occasion of the shrine's autumn festival.[55] The university continued to observe these customs until the end of World War II.

Jōchi also included the performance of reverence from afar in school activities. One such occasion was the program it devised for the Days for Offering Service to Asia's Development (Kōa Hōkōbi 興亜奉公日). The government established these days in autumn 1939 as part of the National Spirit Mobilization Campaign, declaring that the entire populace should set aside one day a month to reflect on the sacrifices being made by soldiers on the front and to commit themselves to the campaign for Asia's development. As its program for these days, Jōchi directed students to assemble by 8:00 a.m. on the school ground, where they were to offer "reverence from afar, silent homage; gratitude, prayer" (*yōhai*, *mokutō*; *kansha*, *kinen* 遙拝、黙禱; 感謝、祈念).[56]

Affirmation of patriotic ceremonial carried over into areas that existed on a continuum with shrine ritual. One was the demonstration of reverence toward imperial rescripts, most particularly the Rescript on Education. In 1920 the Jesuits had not felt it necessary to do anything special to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the rescript's promulgation. By the mid-1930s they took a quite different attitude. At least as early as 1934 the university distributed to students a little booklet titled *Seikun* 聖訓, or "Sacred Teachings," consisting of Amaterasu's command that her descendants should rule Japan forever, "coeval with

54 See the pamphlet put out for the entrance ceremony 6 April 1935; university report to Ministry of Education dated 22 November 1935, both held by JDS.

55 Sakaeda 1957, pp. 31–32.

56 Addendum to student handbook, 4 January 1941, pp. 3–4, held by JDS. A note states that the university had implemented this practice on 1 October 1939, shortly after promulgation of the government order regarding Kōa Hōkōbi.

heaven and earth"; the Rescript on Education; and the Imperial Instructions to the Army and Navy, issued in 1882. By 1936 the university had recorded an elaborate protocol for handling the Rescript on Education on occasions when it was to be publicly recited. It was to be carried to the stage, "(still in its box) on a tray … held at eye level," and removed reverently and ceremoniously from the box. Deep bows by all in attendance were to precede and follow its recitation.[57]

Recitation of the Rescript on Education in this fashion was incorporated as a feature of the university's celebration of the "four major ceremonial days" as well as the entrance and graduation ceremonies. The "four major ceremonial days" (*shidaisetsu* 四大節) were New Year's, National Foundation Day (Kigensetsu 紀元節), the emperor's birthday (Tenchōsetsu 天長節), and Emperor Meiji's birthday (Meijisetsu 明治節). These were national holidays, so classes were not held, but the government increasingly expected schools to conduct some sort of activity to mark the three ceremonial days other than New Year's. In the Taishō period, when the emperor's birthday was celebrated on 31 October, Jōchi had put the opportunity of a holiday to other uses. Mark McNeal, who described the holding of a baptismal ceremony for a student on 1 November 1920, the day of Meiji's enshrinement, noted a similar substitute activity for the preceding day:

> All Hallows Eve is the Emperor's birthday, and is a national holiday. It was made the occasion for a gathering of the faithful in the grounds of the Catholic University, which we decorated for the occasion; some Catholic ladies got up a bazaar for the poor; the Catholic students of the Imperial University came to hold in one of our halls a meeting of their newly organized Society of St. Thomas for the study of Catholic philosophy.[58]

By the mid-1930s, however, Jōchi was at the forefront of universities commemorating the three major ceremonial days apart from New Year's in a manner the government considered appropriate. A 1937 Ministry of Education survey found that only five of the sixteen universities located in Tokyo were observing the three ceremonial days properly. One was Jōchi. Already in 1935 the university had reported that on those days it assembled the entire student body for recitation of the Rescript on Education and a homily suited to the occasion.[59] The university also took steps to obtain an "official" copy of the Rescript on Education. The initial copy of the rescript recited on ceremonial occasions and treated with the reverence described in the 1936 protocol evidently had not been received directly from the government. An inquiry from the Ministry of Education in autumn 1936 about schools' preservation and use of the rescript included as one of its items the date when it had been "bestowed" (*kafu* 下付). Jōchi responded that the "copy of the rescript reverently preserved (*hōan* 奉安) at our university is not one that has been bestowed. It has been purchased."[60]

57 Booklet signed by student and dated July 1934; university internal memorandum dated 23 March 1936, both held by JDS.

58 *Woodstock Letters* 50 (1921), pp. 250–51.

59 University reports to the Ministry of Education about use of the rescript, dated 22 November 1935 and 10 September 1936; held by JDS. Ono 2014, p. 244. The four other schools were Tokyo Imperial University and, among private universities, Waseda, Risshō 立正, and Senshū 専修.

60 University report to Ministry of Education about rescript, dated 10 September 1936; held by JDS.

The following year, at the end of November 1937, this situation was remedied: the university requested and received an official copy.

In this same period the Ministry of Education began actively to encourage universities to request the bestowal of the other major symbol of imperial grace, portraits of the emperor and empress. (A survey in 1934 found that out of the sixteen universities in Tokyo, only Tokyo Imperial University and Kokugakuin 国学院 had received portraits of the reigning emperor.)[61] The same day that Jōchi put in its request for an official copy of the Rescript on Education, it submitted a further application for bestowal of the imperial portraits. Together with the application, it provided the requisite list of the regulations it had compiled for taking proper care of the portraits and detailed diagrams of the cabinet in which they would be kept. A week later, the university was informed that its application had been approved.[62]

In incorporating these symbolic features into university ceremonial occasions, Jōchi does not seem to have tried (unlike some Christian schools) to combine them with Christian elements.[63] The inclusion of "silent homage" and "prayer" together with "reverence from afar" in the activities for the Days for Offering Service to Asia's Development suggest a potential move in that direction, but the terms used (*mokutō*, *kinen*) were generic ones associated with showing reverence rather than the more explicitly Catholic word for prayer, *kitō* 祈禱. In line with this indirect approach, the Jesuits evidently came to see the ceremonial aura surrounding the rescript and the portraits, like *sanpai* at major shrines, as an aspect of the reverence due legitimate authority and thus compatible with Catholic belief. Some of the clearest evidence of their thinking can be found in reports that they wrote for a newsletter, *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne*, distributed in Germany. Since the newsletter was meant for a German audience sympathetic to the Jesuits' aims and activities, the reports can perhaps be taken as a fairly straightforward reflection of the Tokyo Jesuits' views rather than as something composed to allay potential doubts in Japan about the sincerity of their intentions.

A report for 1935 focused on the autumn festival at Yasukuni and included a photograph of Jōchi students and faculty lined up on campus before marching to the shrine (see figure 4). After describing the "simple and brief" manner in which those offering reverence clapped their hands and bowed their heads "for a few minutes immersed in silence," the author went on to comment:

> The entire manner, the ardor, with which people come [to the shrine] shows that this is not an empty and indifferent gesture. On such occasions the Japanese, with his deep-seated disposition, seems to experience within—or even to feel—what moves the human heart most, the magnitude of dying for one's brothers. In "He gave himself for me" lies the mysterious power of Christianity. The blood given for one's brothers

61 Ono 2014, p. 241.

62 Application submitted by the university to the Ministry of Education, dated 30 November 1937; Ministry of Education response, dated 8 December 1937; both held by JDS.

63 See Sippel 2012, pp. 34, 38–39.

> has forged nations; the blood of God has woven a bond that unites all people beyond ties of race and native soil.[64]

Another report described the entrance ceremony at Jōchi in April 1937. The centerpiece was a detailed account of the recitation of the Rescript on Education that corresponds virtually word-for-word to the protocol in Japanese for handling the rescript mentioned above.[65] A report the next year described in even fuller detail the arrival of the imperial portraits in December 1937. "For each school it is a great honor to possess the imperial portraits," the author, Joseph Edelmann (1912–1993), wrote.

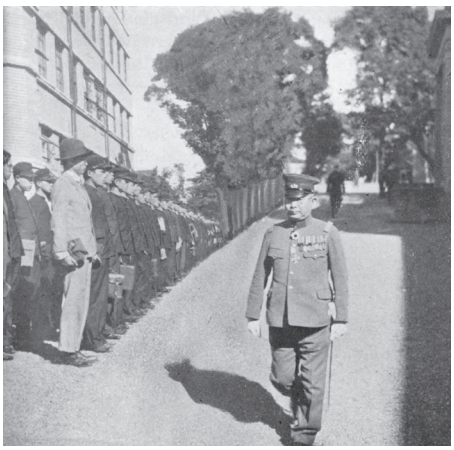

Figure 4. Students and faculty assemble on campus before marching to Yasukuni Shrine in autumn 1935. In the foreground is the training officer assigned to Jōchi in August of that year. Image courtesy of JDS.

> Recently we also have been given this honor. With great ceremony the portraits of the imperial couple were transferred from the Ministry of Education to our university and received there. As the first car, in which sat the president and the provost, came into sight, the command resounded: "Saikeirei!" In salute to the emperor, all bowed low until the cars were driven to the entrance to the auditorium.

Inside the auditorium the portraits were placed on the stage, in "a sort of shrine, veiled mysteriously." As the provost, Tsuchihashi Yachita, "ceremonially unveiled the portraits," the president, Hermann Heuvers (1890–1977), appointed following Hoffmann's death in June 1937, took his place on the stage and led the assembled faculty, students, and staff in bowing low before the portraits. "Professors and students, men of the West and East [offered] the salute to the emperor with deep reverence. A solemn silence filled the entire room. In a common symbolic action was experienced the power of one thought and will, which has created and sustains this empire, [manifested in] the offering of appreciation and gratitude."[66]

While expressing what appears to be genuine admiration for the atmosphere of reverence evoked by the unveiling of the portraits, Edelmann indicated that such reverence was not in itself sufficient. "In some of us," he continued, "there was mingled in this joy the desire that this great, mighty, so self-assured people will find the complete truth and happiness of the soul."[67] Clearly, however, he saw the manifestation of devotion to the emperor as congruent with attaining a yet higher level of religious faith. His affirmation of

64 *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 25 (1935), p. 338. Bruno Bitter (1898–1988), the author of this article, is often held to have influenced the Allied Occupation's decision not to abolish Yasukuni. See Mullins 2010. Bitter was also the driving force behind the publication of *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne. Jōchi Daigakushi shiryōshū*, vol. 4, p. 343.

65 *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 30 (1937), p. 427.

66 *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 32 (1938), pp. 447–48.

67 *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 32 (1938), p. 448.

the national spiritualization of the late 1930s thus carried a step further Hoffmann's 1932 declaration of the compatibility between Catholic education and dedication to emperor and state. Implicitly, participation in the spiritualized forms of national ritual could lead through a process of transmutation to the realization of true belief.

A similar sense of the mutually beneficial possibilities of a rapprochement between national goals and those of Jesuit education can be found in a booklet the university put out in 1938 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Jōchi's founding. Published in a combined format of both German and Japanese, the booklet was in effect a public statement meant for a broad audience. One of its main features was an account by Johannes Kraus (see above, pp. 109–10) of the history and principles of Jesuit pedagogy. Echoing points made by Hoffmann in his 1932 address, Kraus began by noting what gave Jōchi a distinctive place among Japanese universities. Although it was the product of cooperation between a specific religious community—German Jesuits—and Japanese instructors, it had deliberately excluded the elements commonly associated with so-called mission schools. "Within the school there is no religious education, no religious activity such as collective worship, no courses on theology, no lectures on issues concerning Church history, doctrinal history, Christian morals, or canon law." Instead, Jōchi provided thorough training in German and English and close, daily contact with professors who embodied German cultural life. Above all, it held to a firm pedagogical vision, "the organic union of instruction and 'education,' knowledge and 'character formation' (*tōya*/*Bildung*)." [68]

Kraus went on to trace the roots of the Jesuits' pedagogical approach to the Ratio Studiorum, the comprehensive schema for a sequential course of studies adopted by the Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century. Much of his intended audience might be assumed to know little about this topic, and for them Kraus provided a succinct overview. He described the Ratio as fusing medieval scholastic traditions with Renaissance Humanism, noted its influence and that of Jesuit schools on European modes of education, and explained the thinking behind various aspects of the Ratio's program, such as the emphasis on the mastery of classical language and rhetoric in the first stage of education and on training in Aristotelian logic in the second. He also emphasized the adaptability of Jesuit education. Although their pedagogical approach had continued to be founded on the ideals of the Ratio, the Jesuits had also, he stated, always been ready to respond to the needs of changing times and circumstances.

For the first two-thirds of his account, Kraus essentially presented the Jesuits' educational stance as compatible with the government's stipulations about the separation of religion and education. In the final third, he adopted a different angle on the issue. Here he simultaneously addressed the role of religion as nevertheless occupying the "core" of Jesuit education and depicted it as supportive of national spiritual mobilization. Making only the barest allusion to specifically Christian beliefs and practices, he presented religion not in terms of doctrine or ritual, but as a process of spiritual training and discipline, the element that enabled the dynamic fusion of character formation and knowledge. He did so in a manner that, whether intended so consciously or not, could be expected to appeal to those who might continue to harbor suspicions about "religion in schools" but had long since come to see the value of "spiritual training."

68 *Sophia Universitaet, 1913–1938*, pp. 10–11 (German), 9–10 (Japanese).

Explaining *fides* (*shūkyōteki chūjitsu* 宗教的忠実), for instance, as a quality essential for a Jesuit teacher, Kraus focused not on the object to which such faith was to be directed, but on the experience of faith as fundamental to the union of morality and knowledge. He presented the *pietas* (*keiken* 敬虔) and *oboedientia* (*fukujū* 服従) expected of students in a similar manner. Piety, being directed at "the highest value," served "to ensure the reverent preservation of the correct hierarchy of values." It was a natural adjunct to obedience, the "foundation of all discipline (*kunren* 訓練/*Zucht*)." Discipline, in turn, was needed to contribute actively to the basic forms of social community—family, ethnos, state. Since authority played an essential role in unifying and setting restrictions for communal life, the inculcation of "spontaneous and conscious obedience to authority" served to affirm the importance of social community and as a corrective to mistaken conceptions of "freedom." True "freedom" was not possible unless accompanied by restrictions and could be secured only through obedience.[69]

Jesuit accounts in the late 1930s of national ceremonial and the goals of Jesuit education thus projected a kind of symbiosis. Spiritual mobilization centered on state and emperor could serve as a foundation for the consolidation of the Christian faith, while Jesuit education could support the state's aims as well. The Jesuits were far from being the only religious group in this period to affirm the possibility of a fusion of national spiritual goals with their own. Other groups, both Christian and Buddhist, did likewise. At the same time, the rapprochement with the state in this area points to some aspects of the intersection between the secular and religious in modern society that would seem worthy of further examination.

José Casanova has argued that a paradoxical feature of secular modernity is that its triumph "came aided by religion." The shattering of "monastery walls—that is, the symbolic boundaries between the secular and religious spheres," allowed for "a mutual penetration of religion by the secular and of the secular by religion." Focusing on post-Vatican II developments such as the Catholic Church's embrace of "the secular discourse of human rights," Casanova evaluates this development positively as something that has served "to sanctify and legitimate modern liberal secular norms and values as Christian ones." Jōchi's prewar history may be said likewise to present an instance wherein, to borrow Casanova's words, the boundaries between secularity and religion became "so diffuse that it is not clear where religion begins and the secular ends."[70] Yet it also suggests that the process of mutual penetration did not necessarily lead solely in a liberalizing direction.

Accepting the assertive-secularist framework of state policy, the Jesuits worked within it to find ways to pursue their own religiously informed educational aims. Insofar as the situation reprised circumstances familiar from recent European experience, this strategy proved reasonably successful. They encountered a different kind of obstacle, however, in the state's promotion of *jinja sanpai* and other ceremonial that the Church saw as of a piece with *sanpai*. Holding participation in such rites to be tantamount to taking part in a false religion, the Jesuits resorted to an essentially passive-secularist stance of noninvolvement. By the 1930s this stance became increasingly problematic: it seemed to jeopardize not only the Jesuits' educational achievements thus far but the ability of the Catholic Church to show

69 *Sophia Universitaet, 1913–1938*, pp. 32–35 (German), 32–35 (Japanese).
70 Casanova 2006, pp. 23, 25–28.

itself as a universal church, supportive of legitimate authority in Japan as elsewhere. Such considerations helped bring about a change in the Church's official position on *sanpai*. The redefinition of *sanpai* as a civil rather than religious form of reverence removed the grounds for passive-secularist resistance to shrine-related ritual. It also appears to have fostered a shift into a new register in relations with the state, a register in which distinctions between "secular" and "religious" were submerged in an affirmation of a mutually reinforcing spiritual mobilization, compatible with Jesuit and state goals alike.

This development might be seen as an instance of what Casanova describes as the Church's traditional "preference and the Catholic affinity for hierarchic and corporatist … forms of government," a tradition he acknowledges while juxtaposing to it an alternative scenario.[71] It might also be set against the history of the Jesuits' long and complex interaction with East Asian intellectual, spiritual, and ritual forms. These issues are beyond the scope of the present article, but both deserve exploration. For the moment we might simply conclude that the adjustments of the 1930s provide yet further evidence of the need for caution in using the terms "secular" and "religious" as fixed and antonymic categories of analysis.

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71 Casanova 2006, p. 28.

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